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workers, who constituted themselves into a committee of organization.

Prominent among them were Auguste Beernaert, Minister of State of Belgium, and president of the Interparliamentary Congress at Brussels, in 1910; Senator Henri La Fontaine of Belgium, president of the Permanent International Peace Bureau at Berne; Paul Otlet, secretary of the International Institute of Bibliography at Brussels; and Alfred H. Fried of Vienna, editor of *Friedens-Warte*. These men, after long study of the peace question, had become convinced that the only practical method of banishing war, and the shadow of war, was to banish the excuse for it by creating a recognized need for peace; and that the one way to accomplish this was to unify the world in thought, in feeling and in interests.

Though universal peace is the ultimate goal, the office has for its immediate and permanent function to serve humanity from day to day by providing an international clearing house through which may freely flow from nation to nation the best in thought and effort that is developed in each.

The first World's Congress of International Associations, held at Brussels, May 9 to 11, 1910, at which one hundred and thirty-two out of a total of some two hundred associations were represented, was a related movement,—the first step toward a general coördination of all international activities. At this Congress there were present four Nobel Peace Laureates, including Auguste Beernaert, who presided over the deliberations.

In one of the reports of the proceedings occurs the following definition of internationalism: "Internationalism of interests and efforts is only the continuation of the great movement which has already created in history regionalism and nationalism. Among the independent nations—which ought to survive, as provinces survive within states—there has been progressively developed a vast organization destined to embrace all states and nationalities."

Under the auspices of the Central Office of International Associations at Brussels, and of the International Institute of Peace at Monaco, and edited by Messrs. Fried, La Fontaine and Otlet, there has been published (1908-1909) "The Annual of International Life" (*L'Annuaire de la Vie Internationale*), a volume of thirteen hundred and seventy pages, containing the fullest record at the time obtainable of the international associations of the world—official and unofficial.

It is of this book that William T. Stead said: "One of the most interesting books in the world has reached me from the principality of Monaco. When I opened the box and took out the book I felt as if I had suddenly come into the possession of King Solomon's magic carpet, which enabled me to fly far into the future. It is a fascinating book. When you read its pages you seem to be witnessing the erection of a new world. For here we see the Spirit of Polycivilization brooding upon the formless and anarchic abyss of space, and evolving therefrom the World State of the future. It is a marvelous picture which is thus represented. An enormous multitude of forces are creating a new body in the shape of a highly complex international organization, and they are informing it with a new soul—the Conscience of Humanity. This is the greatest of all the miracles of our time,—

the almost automatic evolution of one harmonious World State out of the multitudinous jarring congeries of national states which constitute the armed anarchy of this planet. The impulse comes very partially from religion. It does not proceed at all from military conquest. Science and the machine—these are the dominant influences which are unifying mankind. Everywhere and at all times the subtle influence of steam and electricity are at work in their great task of world shrinkage."

This, as Mr. Stead indicates, has in it no suggestion of religious inspiration. It is the outcome of an intricate, highly developed, reciprocal self-interest. International peace will come, primarily because of its righteousness, but equally because the world is learning, as each civilized nation learns day by day within its own borders, and as Canada and the United States have learned through almost a century of unbroken and unarmed friendship, that peace pays.

Self-interest is still potent; the millennium is yet to come.

### New York Peace Society.

Reception to Hon. and Mrs. Oscar S. Straus.

BY WILLIAM H. SHORT, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

The reception given by the Society on Saturday, January 7, to Hon. Oscar S. Straus and Mrs. Straus (just returned from Constantinople) in the Hotel Plaza was a largely attended and successful event. Mr. Straus addressed the guests on the "Spirit of Our Diplomacy," and in introducing him Mr. Carnegie paid him a high tribute as a man and a peacemaker.

"We have with us to-day the peacemaker," said Mr. Carnegie. "I am proud of the record he has behind him. He has proved himself a success in every position he has made for himself or to which his country has called him. Three times he has been sent to Turkey, twice as Minister and once as Ambassador. If matters in Turkey should ever become critical, if we should want some one who could straighten out supposed difficulties between the Turkish nation and our own, there would be a unanimous call for Mr. Straus. He has obtained for his country in Turkey privileges that were never before granted to us. He is a great peacemaker."

Mr. Carnegie then spoke of the difference between the heroes of peace and the heroes of war. "The hero of the savage," he said, "was the man who killed or maimed the greatest number of his fellows; yet in modern warfare heroism is scarcely possible, for men must stand at a great distance and shoot one another. Mark the heroes of peace! After a disastrous mine explosion in Great Britain one hundred miners were buried. There was a call for volunteers for the rescue, and more men responded than could possibly be used. That is the right sort of heroism. The argument that war makes for heroes is untenable. The heroes of war kill, the heroes of peace save."

Then Mr. Carnegie turned to Ambassador Straus and, placing his arm on his shoulder, said, "On behalf of the Society I want to express the deep gratitude and admiration we have for you as a man, and we wish you a long and happy life. We are glad to get you back again. Now that you are back you will have to work for the Society, for you are a man we cannot afford to lose."

Mr. Straus was visibly affected by the tribute Mr. Carnegie paid to his attainments, and replied: "I appreciate highly the great honor paid me by the prince of peace."

Then he spoke of the work of the Society, not only in New York but throughout the country, and of its small beginning under his own presidency.

"By my resignation," he declared, "came the great success of the Society, because it enabled you to obtain as the director of your destinies that great man, that builder of the Temple of Peace, Mr. Carnegie."

Speaking of the introduction of American ideas into Turkey, Mr. Straus said that when American schools were first established in Turkey the Turks were suspicious of our motives. They wanted to know if we were educating the natives so that afterwards we might undertake a commercial conquest of their country. "I told the Turkish people," he said, "that we were not bent on making a commercial conquest of their country, but that we wanted only to educate them, that they might know our ideas and ideals, and now at last the Turks are beginning to understand. John Hay," he declared, "was wont to say that our foreign policy consisted of the Monroe Doctrine and the Golden Rule. It is true. Our government's basic principle is that all men are equal. We have followed that principle in treating with foreign powers. Based on that idea we all have equal rights, and might does not make right, but law and justice."

In speaking of American diplomacy at the present time, the Ambassador declared that we ought to work for the establishment of a court of judicial justice for all nations. He urged a treaty between the United States and Great Britain as likely to go far to make for peace. He spoke of the treaty of 1897 between the two countries, which had failed to pass the Senate by only two or three votes. He advocated resurrecting that treaty, as Great Britain is ready to extend to us the hand of good-fellowship. If the treaty were signed, he maintained, we should no longer have need for armaments, for a treaty of peace between two such powerful nations would eventually result in a world-wide peace.

At the conclusion of the remarks, the guests were introduced to Mr. and Mrs. Straus and to Mr. and Mrs. Carnegie by Mrs. Henry Villard, chairman of the reception committee. Refreshments were served from five to seven.

At the Cooper Union meeting held on Friday evening, January 13, under the joint auspices of the New York Peace Society and the People's Institute, the speakers were Representative David J. Foster of Vermont, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, and Representative James A. Tawney of Minnesota, chairman of the Appropriations Committee. Both men spoke in favor of a reduction of armaments, with special reference to the fortifying of the Panama Canal. Both also appealed for a canal maintained upon a basis of international neutrality, pointing out that this system had been tried and found successful in the case of the Suez Canal.

Mr. Tawney said, in part:

"Owing to the vast extension of the activities of modern commerce, industry and finance, industrial and commercial empires, more comprehensive in their scope than any nation, have sprung up, as it were, in the night. These newly created world spheres know no international

boundaries, and are rapidly combining peoples and nations together with chains of gold that render belligerency between governments suicidal. In breaking the peace of the world, the modern nation inevitably declares war on herself. She attacks her own economic and social interests. She plunges a knife into the hearts of her own people.

"There is but one cause that nowadays is likely to provoke war between great nations, and that is irrational impulse or frenzied passion, excited by sudden insult or accident, betraying whole peoples into a mob condition which is not responsive to considerations of prudence or humanity.

"It will be well for the advocates of armed peace to consider that the operation of this crowd-passion or mob spirit in causing war is wonderfully favored and facilitated by the existence of large armies and navies. The possession of irresponsible power is always a temptation to its irresponsible use. Individual citizens are not permitted in times of peace to go armed among their fellow-men, because of the temptation to use arms for slight cause in such moments of passion and excitement as every man is liable to in the course of his daily experience. It is with nations as with individuals; there is always the possibility that if nations know themselves to be dangerously armed and fully equipped, they will be more apt to declare war on slight provocation than they otherwise would be.

"Instead of being a guarantee of peace, therefore, great armaments are a continual menace to peace. They tend to hasten the event which it is claimed elaborate preparation for war is intended to prevent.

"Great and costly armaments should not be relied upon to preserve peace for at least three principal reasons:

"They are a continual temptation to war.

"They are wholly unnecessary in our day, because the great preventive of war is the common life which the nations of the world live together, and make possible for each other. The world has shrunk, as it were, into a neighborhood in which each nation is in constant touch with all. The world's annual commerce exceeds twenty-eight billion dollars. All civilized nations are therefore interested in preventing any two nations from disturbing the world's peace.

"Armaments cannot be relied upon to prevent war or maintain international peace for the reason that their cost is rapidly becoming prohibitive. When stated in dollars and cents, we find that, including the current fiscal year, we have appropriated and expended in the last ten years, on account of preparation for war alone, \$2,192,036,585.20. These figures denote a sum so vast that the average mind cannot grasp it.

"We are told in official reports that, after spending almost two and a quarter billion dollars in preparation for war, almost any European or Oriental power could cross either of the two oceans which separate us from the rest of the world, and successfully invade continental United States, destroy our railroads, blow up our mountain passes, paralyze our industry and reduce to ashes the magnificent cities that sit queen-like on our Atlantic and Pacific Coasts.

"If the expenditure of two and a quarter billions in ten years for the purpose of providing for our national defense finds us in the helpless condition the advocates of militarism would have us believe, then what would be

the sum total of our expenditures for this purpose if we were to adopt and carry out their theories? My friends, the total cost of such an undertaking would amount to figures which would baffle the imagination.

"These vast armaments tend to promote a spirit of rivalry among nations to excel each other. This tendency has grown for the last decade so rapidly that it now amounts to an international race for supremacy in war preparation; and that, too, at a time when there is no cloud on the international horizon to threaten the existing peaceful relations between all nations of the world."

Mr. Foster's address on "Our Obligations at Panama" was an unanswerable argument against the fortification of the canal. Besides the usual reasons given, he drew a most impressive one from the treaty obligations into which we have entered with Great Britain and Panama.

"Before we struck a spade into the Isthmus we gave renewed and final expression to that policy [of neutralization embodied in our treaties with Great Britain and New Granada fifty years ago] by incorporating into our treaties with Great Britain and the Republic of Panama the principle of neutralization of the canal for all time.

"Having declared in those treaties that the canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations 'observing the rules,' it is our plain duty to afford the maritime powers of the world an opportunity to agree to observe these rules as Great Britain and Panama have already done. With the nations of the earth agreeing to our rules of neutrality, the fortifications of the canal would be not only unnecessary, but a crime against civilization and a criminal expenditure of the people's money. For while there is no positive prohibition of fortification in our treaties with Great Britain and Panama, the very idea of neutralization is inconsistent with fortifications.

"Upon the question of the fortification of the canal, the future is entitled to be heard. For we are placing the burden of its construction upon the generations to come. Theirs will be the burden of maintaining and operating it. The ever-increasing advantage of the canal to us is unquestioned, but whether it will prove a paying investment no one to-day can foretell. In the railroad across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec it already has a strong and successful competitor furnishing a route hundreds of miles shorter between New Orleans and Hawaii. In this state of uncertainty as to the revenue to be derived from the canal, we owe it to the future that no unnecessary burden be placed upon it; that every honorable means be employed to save it from the heavy and perpetual burden which fortification would impose."

### New Books.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRAL LAW AND PROCEDURE. By Jackson H. Ralston. Boston and London: Ginn & Co., for the International School of Peace. 1910. 352 pages.

The introductory chapters give the leading characteristics of International Law, a definition of treaties and a sketch of the rules for their interpretation. There is an extended treatment of arbitral commissions and of parties to an arbitration. The customs of procedure in arbitration are taken up and a brief digest of the character of

evidence receivable is given. Claims, damages, the rights and duties of aliens, the rights and liabilities of governments, prescription, war, maritime law, prize law and international courts of inquiry are the other topics considered. An appendix contains rules governing American claims against foreign governments and the Hague Peace Convention of 1907.

The aim of the author is to give as thorough an idea of arbitral law as is possible within a reasonably small compass by citing rulings and opinions in several hundred adjudicated cases, and in connection with them giving the views of great writers on the law of nations—Grotius, Vattel, Bluntschli, Calvo, Merignac, Phillimore, Hall, Maine, Lawrence, Wheaton, Wharton, Moore and others. The volume is replete with citations from Moore's Digest of International Arbitrations. It covers the points of law pronounced upon by umpires in the Venezuelan claims and other cases tried since the publication of Professor Moore's work. No attempt is made to make a systematic philosophy of arbitration, which Mr. Ralston, who is learned in the subject and is a writer of a philosophical as well as legal turn of mind, is eminently fitted to write; but there is given us a reliable statement of the facts of the subject with all the necessary references. One is impressed by the thought that there are now hundreds of precedents for arbitrators to follow, and that although, as the author points out, the doctrine of *stare decisis* is not accepted by arbitral tribunals, it has had a profound influence on arbitral decisions and can never be neglected by courts of arbitration. Mr. Ralston acknowledges assistance given him by Dr. Ellery C. Stowell and Mr. Clement L. Bouvé.

The author and his assistants have done a thorough piece of work, and opened to students and lawyers a branch of legal science which heretofore has been difficult of access, owing to the fact that information with regard to it has been obtainable only in out-of-the-way places or in volumes like Moore's "International Arbitrations," which only comparatively few men have on their library shelves. By the publication of this book the International School of Peace, now called the World Peace Foundation, has provided the peace movement with an important addition to its technical literature.

WAR VERSUS PEACE. By Jacob Funk. Elgin, Ill.: The Brethren Publishing House. 175 pages.

This is a short treatise on war, its causes, horrors and cost; and peace, its history and means of advancement. It is written from the point of view that the present age should be one of love—love to God and love to man. It holds that war is the negation of love and justice. The five chapters treat respectively of "The Causes of War," "The Evils of War," "The Cost of War," "A Brief History of the Peace Movement" and "Ways of Advancing the Peace Movement." The book is enriched with apt quotations from many leading peace workers of the past and is illustrated with cuts of some of Verestchagin's famous paintings.

### Booklets and Pamphlets Received.

DER WEG ZUM WELTFRIEDEM IN JAHRE 1910. By Alfred H. Fried. In German. Berlin, Vienna and Leipzig: The office of the *Friedens-Warte*. 20 pages. A chronicle by months of the principal events of the past year bearing on the progress of peace.

AN ECONOMICAL QUESTION—COST OF ARMED PEACE. 4 small pages. New York: The World-Federation League.